1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

perhaps replacing obsidian blades. They are now in turn being replaced by European safety razor blades even on remote rural big markets. These are called "lesa melaḳ" although very commonly still sold by an Arab trader. The small glass drinking bottle called "berellē", used in place of a cup for mead, has been brought by caravans from the Middle East since the Ottoman Turkish period. The European drinking glass, "berčheqo" is still rare in rural areas.

F. Clothing

There is a substratum of wearing skins in all of Ethiopia, sheepskin particularly and even leopard skin. Among the Amhara this appears among poor wandering church students, and in the fact that certain textile articles, notably the "lämd", symbolize the leopard skin of the warrior which he still wore at the time of the accession of the present emperor. This type of clothing is in the African tradition.

But the clothing of the Amhara today is largely of cotton, plus a wool cape for the feudal "great men" or landowning farmer. Both have come to Abyssinia from the Middle East areas: the long shirt, "qämis" probably came during the 19th century, together with the white Indian jodphurs (that some trace as late as Lord Napier's campaign); the wool burnus is believed to have entered as long ago as the 5th century A.D., together with Coptic Christianity.[66]

66. Mohrer, E.F.: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara, Bern, 1932, p. 19.

291 [439] Raw cotton and cotton sheeting have long been imported, and still are, but the toga (shamma), probably the oldest of the Abyssinian cotton garments, is made domestically, from cotton spun by the housewife and woven on the handloom of the weaver.

The cotton clothing now considered "traditional" is [765] always white. The explanation given by the pious is that white is the expression of mourning, because of the passing from the earth of Jesus Christ.

[294] Tailoring is done by poor semi-specialized Amhara men at "big markets". Garments are made with great care, to follow the traditional style and also fit well. There are no new fashions in these costumes, for the prevalent pattern is conservative: to be properly dressed for the occasion, in the style of one's forebears. Variety exists in trousers: the jodphurs which reach to the bare feet, as former clothing of feudal lords, are more prestigeful than the wide peasant trousers that narrow to the leg just below the knee. The shirt, worn kneelength above the trousers, similarly narrows on the forearm, and is therefore called "ej tebab" (lit. narrow-sleeve) in the vernacular, instead of "qamis", the proper name (possibly from French chemise, though no Amhara would admit this foreign name for his "traditional" shirt). The only untailored garment is the toga, but this is used for expression of moods and situational conditions (see "language of the shamma").

296 Laundering is done in or near riverbeds, or brooks, by women, housewives or female ex-slaves, using the dried

296 and crushed, potash--containing saponaria seed called "endod" (Phytolacca abyssinica) which grows wild, but the locations of which are carefully remembered for "harvest". The crushed seed is mixed with cold water on the slightly concave top of a rock, or in a cowskin. The cloth is kneaded, stamped on with feet, until a good foam develops. This is done several times; then the garment is rinsed, and bleached by the sun. In time the cloth does become grayish, particularly the peasant trousers which are used more than the festive shirt and jodphurs, but the native soap-plant is kinder to the material than the coarse European laundry soap now available at big markets.

291 There is little basic difference between the garments worn by the sexes. Jodphurs may be worn by travelling ladies of feudal lords, since there is no side-saddle, but the peasant woman never wears trousers. Also, instead of the shirt, women generally wear a long loose heavy cotton gown from shoulder to feet, though formerly the peasant women used to leave the upper body bare, as a symbol of "respect" (as peasant males used to do on most occasions), and for comfort. Above the tied waist, this garment is [853] still loose, and two-year old infants not yet weaned can walk up to their seated mothers and help themselves to nourishment and comfort by simply pulling the unobstructed breast out. Women wear the toga just as men do, but drape it differently on certain occasions.

The old type of trousers, wide at the hips and tapering to leg size just below the knee ("bat tehulat") has survived the introduction of white jodphurs ("surri") only

291 among peasant's weekday wear, and on the occasion of a peasant woman riding a mule (e.g. the bride being carried to the groom's hamlet). In the latter, somewhat tighter variety, it is called "lɛbaleba". Very recently, Sudanese-imported khaki shorts, British-type, have become popular
294 among peasants for workaday wear, and are mass-produced by foot-operated singer sewing machines at "big markets" of provincial town, This has changed the status of the male tailor to a full-time, urban occupation, carried on by a poor Amhara and only when he is far from the district of his own kinfolk, to avoid shaming them.

292 The wearing of the kneelength cotton shirt, formerly also of imported silk, the "qämīs", was a special privilege granted by the King to his chief courtiers and feudal governors and lords. This meant that they did not have to bare the upper body even to their superiors, and could, when travelling, demand food supplied from any peasant for themselves and their troops. Now called "ej ṭäbab" (narrow-sleeve) it is urban wear for the commoner, and even the peasant wears it when he is not at work as well as on festive occasions; It is always of cotton. The term "qämīs" is now used only for the full-length, wider-sleeved gown of women, who like to have it embroidered with green, flowery designs on chest and back ("telf qämīs"). Unlike the male shirt, it is worn all the way to the feet, and is tied around the waist with a thin strip of cloth,

[831] The "ämīs" of women is almost untailored, for emphasizing body contours would be "shameful". It is full-

271 skirted, one-piece, and in rural areas of coarse, heavy cotton cloth made by the weaver (shammani); while the "ejtebab" of men is of imported cotton sheeting (abujedid) of fine quality. Jodphurs (surri) are of heavier, but also imported cotton. The Coptic priests in rural areas also wear a type of "qämïs" resembling that of women, but without embroidery, and much more wide-sleeved, thus called "ejsäfi".

291 177 In very recent times city women of the younger generation in Addis Ababa have compromised with modernity by wearing a "qämïs" of light, imported, white rayon, thus bringing the development full circle. It is, however, still ankle-length, and the upper part of the body still covered in addition by a light version of the traditional shamma. Even modern-educated husbands who, as clerks or teachers wear European suits themselves, insist on their wives wearing some type of "qämïs" plus shamma. Male wearing of the wide-cuffed European trousers ("bolalë") has taken hold only in Addis Ababa and among modern-educated clerks and teachers. The nobility takes pride in resisting and in wearing jodphurs; and rural teachers still imitate them rather than modernity (much as they teach that the world is round without believing it themselves.).

291 The jodphurs, wide at the waist, are held by a cloth belt, "tebtab". This narrow belt of heavy cotton is used also for other trousers, and for the belt around the "qämïs" [843] of women. Pregnant women wear a long cotton girdle, 6 inches wide, beneath the qämïs, ("mäqännät"), for support, and use it also at night or during the rainy season, for warmth.

291 it also at night or during the rainy season, for warmth. Old men use it for the latter reason, (but call it "deg", to differentiate it from the girdle of pregnancy).

The most important, and most varied, traditional garment of both sexes and all social levels among the Amhara, is the cotton toga, "shamma". It is made from cotton spun at home and then fashioned by the weaver. It is untailored, but draped with care.

In addition to the average shamma, there is a double shamma (called "kutta") for warmth and longer wear; and a half-shamma, usually of finer weave, for prestige (called "netela") used only for daytime wear. Size specifications vary between rural and urban usage, and between districts and provinces.

A full size rural shamma measures about five feet 274 by 10 feet, when finished. To achieve this size, the weaver produces a piece of cloth 2-1/2 feet x 20 feet, cuts it in half, places the borders together, and sews lengthwise. This is the most common garment of the peasant during the work-week, in the dry season, day or night, male and female. It usually has a simple, narrow, dyed border, which is colorfast only in cold water.

The "kutta", when completed, is usually 6 feet wide and up to 15 feet long, cut and sewn in similar fashion, 291 and of coarse, tightly woven cotton. It is worn at night, 513 especially in the rainy season, and by travellers, for it can also be used as a blanket. Today, even in the center of Addis Ababa, one sees peasants curled up head to foot

291 [513] in this kutta, resembling a motionless sack, stirring only when the rays of the sun begin to warm.

The "natäla" is more loosely woven and about half the size of a "kutta". Because it was quickly made, used little cotton, and was therefore much cheaper, it was the dress of the poor and consequently despised. But in very recent times it has been finely made, some even in a factory in Dire Dawa city, and it is now finely embroidered near the border where the dyed strip used to be.

291 [531] "Jano" or "jano kuta", as the name indicates, was the fine shamma of royalty, in chich case warmth was no consideration, and border embroidery was of purple, green gold and other colored silken thread, in various designs. "Tebab" or "derb jano" was embroidered with arabesques, and nowadays has often been changed to diamonds in the national colors of Ethiopia; green, yellow, red. Now urban women wear it, and it is becoming festive dress even for peasant women.

291 The roughest, coarsest and most durable workaday shamma of the peasant has no border ("goda"). Sometimes the "jämis" of the peasant woman is made of this tightly woven material. In the old times it had a very broad red border (a foot wide) and since it was worn by the freehold farmer, it was a garment of honor among the peasantry, even in the time of Menelik II. Now it has lost prestige, except among the more remote rural landholding kin, and it is not produced any more.

The "burnos" hooded cape of wool, is an ancient garment worn by Amhara feudal lords and royalty, both men

291 and women, as protection from rain and cold in the rainy season. Finely embroidered, it was also a garment of high prestige, since the king himself presented it to his liege lords from his own royal workshop, frequently made by imported artisans from the Middle East and their Abyssinian [439] apprentices, often slaves. It is still worn by feudal lords in remote rural areas, but has to be bought from caravan traders who import it, though there are rumors that they were until recently still produced in the district of Bäjä-da in remote, mountainous Semyen sub-province.

292 The old prestige of the "burnos" lives on in the "kabā", the royal (hoodless) cape or mantle, of dark wool with embroidered stiff collar and borders, draped over the shoulders, and reaching to the ankles. This garment is still the prerogative of royalty, of nobility on festive occasions, and of priests. It was the garment seen in western newsreels at the time Emperor Haile Selassie wore it in Geneva and London, even with his European suit.

286 During the time of the roving Amhara feudal chiefs, even in Menelik's time, when capitals were no more than tent cities, carpet making was extensive. Some were used as tapestry, by the nobility. The best were imported, but there was considerable domestic production. A type called "kozē" was woven, surviving for a while in remote areas such as the aforementioned "Bäjäda" district in Semyen, but not of any economic significance. It died out as an art, with the death of the old craftsmen, increase in imports, and the end of the tent cities. Cheap rugs have replaced the carpets, just as imported black chintz has replaced

286 the expensive, woolen, hand-made "kabe", among the common priesthood.

291 Headdress, except for the cap("qob") of monks and nuns, and the turban of priests, is not worn by the Amhara. Only in the cold upper "dega" do the shepherd make a kind of helmet of reeds or plaited wool, covering the ears. The first breach came about a generation ago when some of the [77] nobility began to wear European hats of soft felt, with wide brims. More recently, the tropical helmet of British and Italians has become popular among educated clerks, teachers and provincial judges, and even commoners of distinction are beginning to weave an imitation tropical helmet of reeds, to serve as a miniature, personal sun umbrella. But the vast majority still use no headgear, and protect themselves from the hot sun by wrapping a portion of the shamma around the skull. The shamma thus provides protection from cold, heat, dust, rain--and shields the bashful (see language of shamma).

Most Amhara still go barefoot. Sandals used to be the prerogative of royalty, and though this prohibition no longer exists, leather sandals, or rubber sneakers from Egypt are still only in limited use, mainly in towns. Shoes imported from Europe are expensive and are worn only by highly educated individuals, officials in Addis Ababa, etc. The average Amhara, including some rural nobility, prefers to continue barefoot. Rural nobles even ride barefoot using the traditional stirrup with an iron ring for the big toes. Sandals made of leather were used by travellers. They

291 are only of the last items to increase in prestige in very recent years, due to growing imitation of living patters of Addis Ababa. Coptic churches still require removal of footgear.

G. Sanitation.

515 Two traditional traits of health care and sanitation have already been mentioned in connection with the direct use of natural products: polishing teeth, and washing clothes.

[824] Hardwood twigs such as wild olive (Olea chrysophylla) called "wayra", or of the "ahya" or "achema" bush (also softer ones of the type that Somali use in lower elevations) are held between the lips, by men or women, after meals. Even old men (in rural Ethiopia this means men over fifty) have most of their teeth as a result, with little sign of wear or decay. Much of this is due to this habit of polishing teeth and gums at odd moments, much as an American might chew gum. Before this polishing, the end of the twig to be used is masticated thoroughly, and the fibrous ends are then used. The Amhara belief is that this keeps the teeth in sharp condition--they do not do it with the idea of cleaning food remnants out of the mouth. The mental association is than of a bird sharpening its beak.

[296] [824] Already noted also is the use of the potash content of the seed of the "endod" bush (Sarcunia abyssinica, or, Phytolacca abyssinica), for laundering and washing.

Little more positive statements can be made about sanitation. When water is short in the dry season, which

282 over the "alga" bedstead.

Sheepskins ("debdeb") are used as upholstery over the solid clay bench that runs along the inside of the Amhara hut, as cover for the children at night, or to protect a mule from chafing by placing the sheepskin under the saddle. Other sheepskins, "agoza" or "dabälo", are worn by church students too poor to own a good toga. Several skins make a coat for an adult itinerant monk and, formerly, for the warriors.

Goatskins, when little-worked, are used for water carrying ("qärbäta") on travel, or to store butter in. The bladder is made into a little bag. But goatskins carefully and at length scraped and tanned are made into parchment for amulets and books, especially psalteries for the church. These yellow-brown parchments ("beranna") with religious or warrior-king texts were rolled into a goatskin cover. Since contact with European missionaries in the mid-19th century, the custom has been to sew parchment pages together on one side with a twisted gut, bind the book in this fashion within two wooden covers covered with a red, tanned goatskin, on which a cross with even branches is impressed with a hot iron.

In the same fashion scabbards of daggers are covered and ornamented with impressed, geometric lines. The tanned tailskin of a cow is used to cover a better walking stick, on which it gradually dries fast. Drums for use in church (and formerly for royal proclamations) are made by tanned cowskins stretched over both ends of the wooden body. Finely tanned skins are used to cover the

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

439 bales of finished material include white khaki, "mä-
bruq"; a thinner and cheaper quality, "mahmädi"; and
colorful prints, sometimes of rayon and even silk, "ba-
lä mänäter", used by the Coptic clergy to wrap the ta-
bot in, or to make colorful umbrellas for processions.

In the past, most imports were for the top feu-
dal chiefs and the clergy (e.g. chintz for the mantle
439 replacing some uses of the older burnos). Now every
291 Amhara, even if poor, wants to own a pair of white Jod-
phurs, for going to town, to church and to special feasts.
In the cities, the semi-educated now also sport a long-
sleeve, khaki bush jacket, the "duba", worn usually un-
der a light shamma instead of a peasant one, and only
fully educated top officials have gone over to full
439 European dress. This has steadily increased imports of
cotton cloth, ever since Menelik's victories made even
[293] the poorer Amhara feel "noble". The sun-umbrella once
reserved for the king, "jan tela" became the ambition
of every peasant housewife. Little porcelain cups,
"fenjal", are often the only item of foreign origin,
besides cotton cloth, found even in remote hamlets, for
the use of honored guests.

The drawing power of the big markets was increased
still more when the Italians built roads to some of them
during 1936-1940. Their heavy trente-quatro trucks
bring imported items mostly from Asmara and the Red Sea
coast: blankets, wood or glass beads for necklaces,
sandals, Egyptian rubber sneakers, Yemen incense and

857 boys and girls - for the sexes are not yet separated up to that
867 time - play "house" with considerable sophistication. For example, when they play "marriage", the "father" of the "bride" goes to the "elders" to inquire about the character of the "groom", after the groom's father has initiated the negotiations on the groom's request. They build a "marriage hut", and play at heavy drinking of barley-beer and honey-mead. The "bride" demands a gift from her new "husband", and enters into his "residence". After they have been in there a while, the two best-men, the "mizē", who had been duly sworn to protect her even against her husband, go off to the bride's parents to announce loudly and joyfully that the girl had proven a virgin! Whereupon the "mizē" are feted.

B. The Stage of Childhood, "Reason" Incipient Discipline.

857 There is no special rite of passage that marks entry into the
868 next stage, at about 5 for girls, about 7 for boys. But there is
855 recognition, at this point, that the girls mature faster and are economically useful at a younger age than boys. Henceforth, girls
[291] play with girls, follow their mothers in their duties, (watch babies, fetch wood) and wear a more complete shift that covers them better; while boys play in boys' groups, follow their fathers, have regular duties assigned them such as taking cattle to and from pasture, and guarding the harvest against birds and baboons. Girl-children are addressed and referred to as "lɔja-ṛäṛäd" (servant maid) for their duties are even more regular than those of
[858] the boys. Both sexes can now be asked in court to choose sides when their parents are being divorced and the guardianship is in question. For they have entered the "age of reason".

855 Neglect of duty is therefore punished, and a father may fly into a sudden rage, beat the child without waiting for an excuse, even hurl a firebrand at the offending boy, so that considerable injuries sometimes occur. Mothers discipline the girls in similar temperamental fashion. But the rage, in either case, is quickly forgotten. There is no pattern of cold discipline, no "woodshed" punishment, rather hot-tempered, quick retribution.

857 Play activity and imitation of adults continues, but it takes on more seasonal and constructive characteristics. This is partly due to the seasonal pattern of the economic activities of boys age 7 to 11 and girls 5 to 14. Formal education in church school rarely begins before 11 in the rural areas, whereupon their play activities become more "extra-curricular".

[526] The seasonal games include the ball game after the harvest is completed, known as "gencheb" or "kwas", and seasonal construction and repair activities. On the church feast of Mikael, little boys have their own outdoor party, eating barley roasted on the stalk, and watching the flirtatious play of adolescent boys and girls.

291 Boys 7 to 11 still wear the tattered, knee length cotton shift, as their basic garment in rural areas, but beg a new one from relatives once a year, for the holy day of "Mäsqäl", or "Timqät". But they are increasingly self-conscious about nudity, and if the tattered shift reveals the pubic area, other boys will haze and playfully beat the offender, saying:

[539] "My father told me not to let a snake warm itself in the sun".

865 In summary, parental discipline in this age group is specific,
867 work-oriented and intermittent; while experimentation with, and

201 554 argumentative peasant-gabbar). The body expresses almost the permanence and immobility of a statue, as if the high-status person could not be surprised or dismayed by anything, certain that all things due him will come to him.

516 The famous "Nilotic stance", stork-like, in which the person stands on one leg, resting the foot of the other against the inner knee of standing leg, is found in the Amhara only among young boys, and an occasional, low-class adult.

554 481 In walking, nobles of the old school walk slowly, somewhat heavily, as if in formal procession. Members of their retinue carry their cane, overcoat, etc. By contrast, laborers carrying heavy burdens walk catlike, largely on the instep, and fairly fast.

F. The Language of the Toga ("shamma").

201 291 The toga is used in so many different, formal ways by the Amhara to express moods, occasion and social status in the presence of persons of differing social status, that the language of the shamma has been likened to the "language of the buffalo robe" of the Plains Indians of America (footnote 95).

The most common way of draping this usually 6 ft. long, 2-1/2 ft. wide garment can be described as "out-going"; called "tälabbäsä". The toga is draped around the upper body so that it gives a turtleneck effect, the embroidered border extends from the shoulder to the waist. This may indicate that the young wearer is in an out-going, expansive mood, considers himself a gay blade going into town in a holiday mood; when worn this way by an older man, it expresses that he is a sober, respectable citizen, in an optimistic mood, going to meet persons of equal status.

Footnote 95 - Coon, C. S.: Measuring Ethiopia, 1935, p. 116.

201
291 To express a sad mood, the toga is not draped, but let hang full length, a corner even trailing in the dust, another corner slung across the front over the opposite shoulder, and the wearer walks with eyes sadly downcast. This way of wearing it is called "ashnäffäta", cloaking the body from the neck down. The method of careless cloaking symbolizes that the wearer is unhappy, depressed, overcome with the sadness of life.

To express reserve, the person who feels himself superior in the presence of people whom he considers inferior, or strangers, can emphasize his dignity by lifting the turtleneck effect of his draped toga to cover his mouth. This form is called "genteb täkanannobä", connoting pride, so that persons who act proud beyond their station are criticized by this term. But in the presence of strangers, who might be carriers of "buda" (evil spirits, evil eye), which might penetrate into the body through the mouth, this is considered excusable.

To emphasize an even greater degree of reserve, the top part of the toga may be lifted further to cover the nose also. This is called "kofännäna", and a man who makes too frequent use of it is criticized as "abba kofenanä" (lit. father of too much pride); it is also called "täshkärakkärä" (lit. veiling), for only the eyes are left free. This prevents evil spirits from entering through the nostril, while the eyes are regarded as potentially offensive weapons, not vulnerable. This form indicates great superiority, and is therefore limited to men; an occasional woman doing this would be sharply mocked as "mentally imbalanced", unless she walks with her husband who is thus attired, imitating him, e.g. while passing through a strange neighborhood, draped for protection ("täconattäfa"). It signals "keep your distance", "don't touch me".

To express great respect, when in the presence of a "great man", (e.g. when appearing formally before a feudal lord, in the old days,

201 among rustics still today), the toga is draped so that the upper part
291 of the body is bare or at least not covered by the toga, while the corner flaps may rest on the slightly raised forearms, possible accompanying the begging gesture of the outstretched palms; this is called "awwärarrädä" (possibly from "wordda", district lord to whom one reports). Combining respect with utility, dancers (azmari) often drape this way, since much of the Amhara dance is upper-body, thus left disentangled, and enabling the dancer to lift the loose corners while swaying in tempo of the musical accompaniment.

Before the judge ("bädarya fit"), the toga is partly draped as in respect, with the difference that one corner is left as large as possible; to enable the wearer to shake an accusing toga-corner in the face of the adversary while on the witness stand, or in protest toward the judge while loudly praying that heaven may give "light" to the judge, or while raising one's wager as to the outcome.

When going to church ("beta kristyan") the toga flaps are draped across the chest so that, in crossing to the opposite shoulder, they form the sign of the cross. When on the way to the house of the great man, this drape is used, for then the flaps can be dropped on the forearms, in the gesture of respect, without draping.

Women usually drape the toga so that part of the shamma acts as a skirt-apron ("sherret"). When in an "out-going" mood, the other part of the shamma covers one arm (usually the left) and the other shoulder. When at work, the top flaps are slung over the chest, leaving both arms completely free for work ("asharrätä").

291 Besides these expressive drapes of "language of the shamma", there are several utilitarian ways of draping it which communicate merely the work being done at the time, or represent mere patterns of draping for comfort;

291 Men doing physical labor - "boddïna" - lift toga above shoulders to free arms;

- "adägaddäga" - knot toga across chest; wrap-around. (also to tie shammas of debtors to creditors, or prisoners to guard's).

[411] To parry blows - "näkkäta" - wrapping toga around left forearm, as shield.

Preparing for battle - "adäraddäga" (see above): knotting shamma across chest, after wrapping it tightly around the waist.

When cold - "zeqzeq läbbäsä" - doubling a heavy shamma (called "kuta" or "derreb") to wrap oneself in completely, even covering covering head, at night.

When hot - a light shamma of muslin ("nätäla") may be rolled around the head - "täsättäsä". Hence, the turban of priests is called "mätamtamiya", a tight wrap-around of the head by muslin.

[535] When dancing - before "däbtära" (scribe-choristers) begin to dance, in church, they first drape the toga tightly ("shäbäsh-häbä"), so that the flaps will not drop from the shoulders during the motion.

[765] In mourning - while dancing the funeral motion, accompanying the improvised eulogy, women approach each other holding their own togas outward and horizontal, like huge wings, (as if they were holding a spear like men dancing the "fukkara" boast dance).

201 291 178 685 Some of these expressive ways of draping the shamma are falling into disuse in the towns where the people are more affected by what passes as "modern dress". However, an interesting increase in one way of draping the shamma can be noticed in recent years: Now that debtors are no

201
291 longer chained to creditors, more frequent knotting-together of the
178
685 shamma is taking place, instead.

G. Dance, Chant, Musical Instruments.

535 Amhara dancing falls into three categories: religious dancing, military dance, and the entertainment dance performed by professionals. The first type has already been described in the section on the church.

Military dancing falls into two main categories: the "fukkara" boasting dance accompanied by boasting chant; and the "hotu" loyalty dance accompanied by shouts.

The "fukkara" is the war-boast, before or after battle, and on other occasions, of the individual warrior boasting of himself, sometimes of his kin group. It used to be danced with a spear, now with a stick or rifle. This is held horizontally over the shoulders. During the dance the head moves sideways, right and left. Defiance is shouted at the enemy, be it human, animal, or a supernatural spirit.

In the zar cult, the victory dance ("gurri") of the spirit just after he has entered the body of the possessed, is regarded so much as the "fukkara" type of dance, that the zar gives his identity away by his own version of "boasting" - whereupon the "disease" is diagnosed.

The hotu loyalty dance, by contrast, is a collective dance, most often a jump-dance, in which the multitude of warriors, brandishing their weapons, try to cast fear on the enemy by numbers, sound, and expression of intense loyalty to their common leader. The name itself is composed of "ho", onomatopoetic for shouting, "ta" signifying the collective suffix (all together). The following are common variations:

"Cho - cho" - simple shouting in unison, ("qärärto").

"Yebahalal Jeb-o" - "The hyena will swallow him (i.e. the enemy)."

"Wardaw sheb-o" - "crow's beak" (i.e. the vultures will feed on the enemy).

"Addis Abäba" - (lit. "New Flower", name of capital) - shout of

186 829 ethnocentrism: "We" includes the brunette racial features of the Mediterranean world, particularly if accompanied by Abyssinian-Coptic religion, for to the Amhara the name "Amhara" is synonymous with Christianity of their own denomination. "They", in their mind, refers to the black peoples of Africa whom they enslaved; but also to "infidel", particularly the Muslims with whom they have been at war so often. They draw many lines within these major ethnocentric divisions, racial, religious, ethnic-occupational and linguistic. But, in the Amhara attitude, racial differences are among the most fundamental.

829 822 The skin color of most Amhara is regarded by them as brown ("t̄aym"), considered better looking than the black of negroid peoples, and reflecting "better character". Black color is regarded as symbolic of anything unpleasant, spiritually impure, ("t̄aggorā" connotes "he became shadowed, sad, depressed"). It is a (mild) insult to call a very dark person "t̄aggwara" (lit. "darkie"). European skin color is regarded as "red" ("ōay") - a common African attitude. The concept of "white" coloring connotes paleness ("n̄atta" (lit. he became pale), undernourishment, sickness, insipid weakness.

822 291 Color symbolism is followed in dress: The Amhara wear white togas, without coloring more than the border, because the concept white also connotes spiritual purity (by extension of the concept of the absence of physical strength). Yellow ("w̄ayba") is the traditional color of special mourning, worn only by monastic monks who regard themselves as in a state of perpetual mourning for the passing of Christ from the earth (the dye is made from the bark of the "wayba" tree, hence the name). Green and blue are collectively called "ārāngwadē", and are not sharply differentiated.

826 Facial ideas also dominate the Amhara concepts of physical

751 their happiness from showing. Eating and drinking in the open makes one
754 extremely vulnerable, because this arouses buda's greed, and at the
776 same time makes it easier to penetrate the victim's body, through the wide open mouth and unguarded nose. Therefore, old-time Amhara cover their faces when eating in front of strangers.

751 This attempt to reduce vulnerability is closely related to some
754 of the "language of the shamma" (toga). In the presence of strangers,
• 291 this can be draped in the fashion that indicates "reserve" - covering the mouth, or even nose and mouth, with the front section of the toga, which has been draped in a turtleneck. When travelling in strange districts, which are doubly dangerous because of cast-out buda spirits hidden by exorcisers along trails, a strong-smelling
[824] herb pushed in the nostril, is often used as a prophylactic. The most commonly used of these herbs is "tena adam" (lit. health of Adam, i.e. mankind). The mouth should be kept closed, or covered. In a fearful situation, he may say "shadow, may it not fall on me". Touching iron, considered specially "strong", also helps. Children are warned to stay away from strangers, and never to leave a baby unattended, lest "buda will eat you". The term "eat" is regularly used for buda possession (not for zar possession), for it indicates consumption.

751 Typhus ("tälalafi bäsheta") and severe epilepsy ("yäbuda bäsheta")
754 the latter literally ascribed to buda (lit. buda disease) are the most
174 common ailments promptly diagnosed as "buda" "eating". Evidently
[164] Amhara doctors long ago observed that covering the mouth and nose and staying away from possibly infected strangers reduced the exposure to certain contagious diseases; they then proceeded to envelop this observation in the culture pattern, including the draping of the toga and stopping up the nose, and not eating uncovered in the presence of strangers. But they also fitted this pattern into their cosmology.

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

291
613
M3

The Emperor and Colonel Wingate at Debra Markos, April 1941

291
492
701

Household Cavalry

Patriots entering Debra Tabor, July 1941

[Facing p. 5]

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

Gojjam notable and boy learning trade of war by carrying weapons

Gojjamis, Matakal

Mule and Hotchkiss gun crossing Blue Nile

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

Ethiopia. There is a special Hararene language of which an Italian society has published texts. It appears to be a corrupt mixture of Amharic and Arabic in the Amharic script. The women of Harar, in whom Somali and Galla blood predominates, are noted for their beauty. In contrast with the uniform white cotton skirts and innumerable petticoats and draperies of the frizzed Amhara ladies, the Hararenes wear a variety of bright colours and, although Moslem, they go with their faces unveiled and shoulders and bosoms exposed. Hair is worn flat in stylized curls. Their skins are often of a beautiful rose-bronze hue.

Härar is situated about 6000 feet above sea-level and its climate is one of the most equable in the world. The fertile red soil provides an abundance of the fruits of the earth and the gardens which slope down round the old walls of the city offer a variety of colour. Many pleasant hours can be spent wandering among them and talking to the cheerful friendly people. Harar is famous for its delicious coffee; and the donkeys of the district of Mount Condudo, which rises to 9000 feet some 20 miles to the east of Harar, are reputed to be the finest in Ethiopia. The jackasses of Condudo are much sought after for the procreation of mules, and the whole life of the Ethiopian Highland still depends on the mule.

The Ethiopian Highland lies in close proximity to two of the oldest routes along which have passed the commerce and the changing cultures of men: the Red Sea and the Nile. Yet the Ethiopian Highland and its peoples have remained remote. The same conditions of history apply to the Riffian Atlas overlooking the Straits into the Mediterranean and to the great Caucasian massif which flanks the ways round the Black Sea and across the Caspian.

The presence of varied racial elements in mountain areas has generally been explained as the remnants of former peoples who have been driven up into the hills as fugitives. This may be in part true. Yet I am inclined to believe that the mountains have been rather the human reservoirs from which successive floods of men have poured down, like the spring waters, into the neighbouring lowlands. There are many historical examples of this process. In Moorish history successive dynasties were recruited from the mountain Berbers and it was the Berbers who provided the man-power for the Moslem conquest of Spain. The function of the Albanians, in repopulating a devastated Greece was remarked by the historian Finlay; and they have for centuries contributed numerous and warlike elements to the populations of the Near East. The same role was played by Caucasian mountaineers in both the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, in Egypt, and in Persia. Mountain peoples generally breed in excess of the capacity of the terrain to support their offspring.

I submit, then, that the Ethiopian Highlands represented just such a reservoir of primitive human material—a reservoir which must have made an important contribution, in prehistoric times, to the peopling of the Nile basin. In fact the Ethiopian Highland and the Moroccan Atlas, with the intervening massifs which rise out of the Sahara, like Jebel Adrar, Tibesti, and Darfur, may well have been the primitive homeland of the Hamitic-

133
291

Gorges of the Kassam river from the Shoan plateau

[facing p. 158]

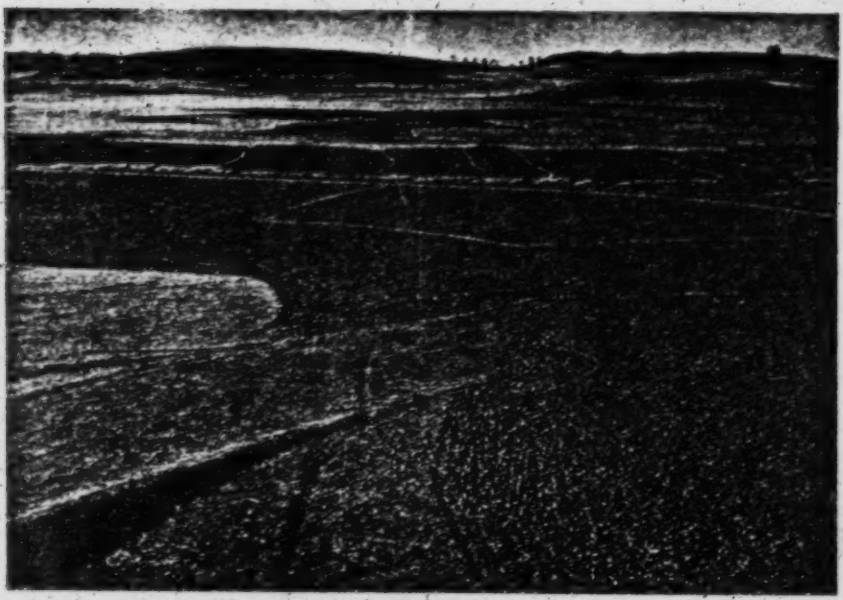
3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

246
291

Church at Abo, Baressa gorge

291
778
793

Monk and deacon receiving offerings [Facing p. 170]



Irrigated land, Atakilt

The ceremony of Timkat (Epiphany), near Debra Berhan

[Facing p. 171]

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

136 is no fish there except very little from the rivers; There from the sea none.

795 There are no monasteries except of St. Anthony, and 792 not of any other order, as some friars say who come from there.

291 The gentlemen, monks, canons, and priests are clothed; most of the other people are bare from the waist upwards, and a sheepskin on the shoulders, with the front and hind feet tied together.

792 Most of the monasteries are situated on high mountains, 346 or in great ravines; they have large revenues and juris- [262] diction. In many monasteries they do not eat meat all the year, and fish very few times, as they have not go it in the country. The services of these monasteries are psalms and prose, and so it is done in the churches of the canons.

796 Every church has two curtains, one on this side of the altar with little bells, and no one but priests enter inside this curtain; and another curtain in the middle of the church. And no one but persons in orders enter the church, and many gentlemen and honourable persons are ordained in order to enter the church. They go to the door of all the churches and monasteries to read the epistles and gospels, and they say them rapidly, and there they give the communion to the people.

The priests consecrate at the altar, and do not show the sacrament. When the priest who says mass comes to take the communion, he takes a particle from the top, and the other two large parts he leaves for the communion of the people. All the people who come to the church have to receive the communion every day, or else not come to church. When the communion is ended, they give them a little blessed water with which they wash their mouths.

Nobody sits down in the church, nor do they enter it shod; they do not hem or spit, nor do they let any dog or other animal come into the church. They confess standing,

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

783 of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."
796 It was most thronged at sun-rise, and ended about nine o'clock; a long time for an old man to stand in frozen water.

The number (as women were promiscuously admitted) could not be less than 40,000; so that even the nine hours this baptist-general officiated, he must have had exercise enough to keep him warm, if 40,000 (many of them naked beauties) passed through his hands.

The women were stark naked before the men, not even the rag about them. Without such a proper medium as frozen water, I fear it would not have contributed much to the interests of religion to have trusted a priest (even an old one) among so many bold and naked beauties, especially as he had the first six hours of them in the dark.

783 The Abuna, the king, and queen, were the three
796 first baptized, all three being absolutely naked, having
291 only a cotton cloth round their middle. I am sure
831 there never could be a greater deviation from the manners of any kingdom, than this is from those of Abyssinia. The king is always covered; you seldom see any part of him but his eyes. The queen and every woman in Abyssinia, in public and private, (I mean where nothing is intended but conversation) are covered to the chin. It is a disgrace to them to have even their feet seen by strangers; and their arms and hands are concealed even to their nails. A curious circumstance, therefore, it would have been for the king to be so liberal of his queen's charms, while he covers his own face with blue taffeta; but to imagine that the Abuna, a Coptish monk, bred in the desert of St Macarius, would expose himself naked among naked women, contrary to the usual custom of the celebration he observes in his own church, is monstrous, and

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

must exceed all belief whatever. As the Abuna Mark too was of the reasonable age of 110 years, he might, I think, have dispensed at that time of life with a bathing gown, especially as it was frost.

The old man in the pond repeated the formula, "I baptise you in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," in his own language; and Alvarez, it is plain, understood not one word of Abyssinian. Yet, on the other hand, he speaks Latin to the king, who wonderfully understands him, and answers as decisively on the merits of the dispute as if he had been educated in the Sorbonne. "Confiteor unum baptizma," says Alvarez *, was a constitution of the Nicene council under Pope Leo. Right, says the king, whose church, however, anathematized Leo and the council he presided at; which both the king and Alvarez should have known was not the Nicene council, though the words of the symbol quoted are thought to be part of a confession framed by that assembly.

"Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit," says Alvarez. "You say right," answers the king, "as to baptism; these are the words of our Saviour; but this present ceremony was lately invented by a grandfather of mine, in favour of such as have turned Moors, and are desirous again of becoming Christians."

I should think, in the first place, this answer of the king should have let Alvarez see no baptism was intended there; or, if it was a re-baptism, it only took place in favour of those who had turned Moors, and must therefore have been but partial. If this was really the case, what had the king, queen, and Abuna,

* Vid. Alvarez, hoc loco. Ramusio. Viaggi. p. 234.

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

ning of a reign; which she could not do, until one of the nobles supplied her with a sum of money. There were only a few derims left in the treasury. 792

Abyssinian Harvests. They first sow barley from the end of April to the beginning of May, or later; that is, towards the first rains. This ripens in the rains in June; and is carried off the fields into the house, that it may not rot. Then they sow fitches, which likewise ripen in the rains after. In September they sow wheat, or teff, which is cut down in December; and, if they have water, they sow barley, or fitches, again in January. In Woggora (a very fertile province), there is seed-time, and harvest, and plowing, in every month in the year; water being easily diverted to the grounds. The rent paid to the king for the ground is one-tenth of what they reap, yet, with all this, they are all poor; for a harvest, at a medium, is about twenty after one; and they sometimes, nay, very often, scarce reap the seed. They never manure the ground; and there are great quantities of rats, and innumerable ants, that consume their corn at different, nay, at all periods of its growth. All their five harvests do not, in produce, equal one Egyptian one; and they are at five times the labour. In the several villages, living, in general, is very miserable; and, in general, people of consideration scarcely know any other diet than teff bread and bouza. Whether this teff is black, or white, is the whole difference between the diet of master and servant. 241 [511] [262]

Abyssinian Dress. The principal part of the dress of the natives is a large cotton cloth, 24 peek (cubits) in length, and one and a half in breadth, with a blue and yellow stripe round the bottom of it. This blue is not dyed; but the Surat blue cloths are unravelled and woven for this purpose; and the yellow they dye with sûf, the yellow thistle. The best for ordinary wear costs 10 salts, or 1¼ pataka, about 6s. 6d. English. It is called Kuara, as probably coming from that province. They are very beautiful and light. The other pieces of dress are breeches, which reach to their mid-thighs; and girt with a white girdle of cloth to the common people; but the better sort have red Indian cotton cloths for breeches; and silk, or worsted coloured girdles from the Levant. When they ride, they only hold their stirrups between their great and 291 [435] 492

[p. 45]

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

tent secluded and when they go out they ride mules astride, are completely veiled or rather covered up in their *chammas* and are accompanied by an escort on foot, one or two of whom walk or trot by the side of the mule holding the lady in position.

Getting on to the mule is an operation that must by no means be witnessed by the profane masculine eye; I remember on the occasion of the first visit paid to my wife by an Abyssinian lady of rank I went to the entrance to speed the parting guest. To my surprise a number of members of the escort took off their *chammas* and held them all round the mule so that their mistress could climb into her saddle in complete seclusion.

But rigid as may be the rules of privacy governing the lives of women, there are no harems, and no guard of eunuchs to watch over them as in Moslem countries.

Nevertheless other Eastern customs are practised, such as circumcision among men and a mild form of clitoridectomy among women; this custom, be it observed, is not as is often supposed of Jewish origin, but probably of much more remote antiquity, and is further evidence of the Hamitic descent of the Abyssinians; according to Gibbon circumcision had been practised "by the most ancient Ethiopians, from motives of health and cleanliness" and presumably not therefore as a religious rite.

The nation as a whole has not adopted European dress, although it is worn to some extent in Addis Ababa, and by individuals who have been to Europe. They are proud of their national dress and the Emperor still encourages its use at court functions and receptions at the palace.

The distinctive feature of the dress is the *chamma*,

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

291 which is worn by both men and women of all ranks; and by the beauty of the *chamma* can as a rule be judged the position or state of purse of the wearer. It consists of a piece of material about three yards in length and from two to four yards in width according as to whether it is doubled or not.

291 286 The more beautiful specimens of these are hand-woven from native cotton, spun and prepared by the Abyssinian women. These are usually edged with red or mixed coloured silks, and those worn by the high priests, great chiefs, and princes and princesses have a very handsome border varying from twelve to eighteen inches wide, carried out in silks of vivid colours woven into an artistic design. They are as fine as gossamer, though large and warm; they are not as a rule sold, but if ever obtainable by Europeans cost from 200 to 500 dollars.

The more ordinary *chammas* are also woven by hand, but of imported cotton, and by comparison are of a much harder and coarser character, though still nice to look at. Natives who cannot afford the hand-woven shawl make use of a length of *abougedid* or cotton sheeting for the same purpose.

291 The *chamma*, which is not unlike the old Roman toga, is draped round the shoulders, often being brought up over the head to the eyebrow and again over the lower part of the face and nose, leaving but the eyes visible. It is always lowered from the face and head as [576] a mark of friendliness or respect, and generally when passing Europeans, though I have known Abyssinians of the anti-foreign old régime to cover up their faces more closely when passing the *Frangi*. At court those in attendance twist the garment round the waist and

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

throw the end over the right shoulder from back to front. As a general rule, however, women turn them up on the left shoulder, whilst men free their right arm and shoulder. They make, floating in the breeze, a very picturesque addition to the costume of the wearers. 291

Very little difference is apparent in the dress of the Ethiopian men and women of any class. This is made of imported white cotton materials of varying design and quality, and consists of roomy trousers tied round the waist and tightened in from calf to ankle, and a loose shirt reaching below the knee. The latter is worn longer by the women, with some coloured silk embroidery round neck and cuffs; this embroidery is also carried out round the bottom of the trousers, which are tightly fastened at the ankle with tiny silver or gold buttons. The shirts of both men and women have very close-fitting sleeves from elbow to wrist, which are also buttoned, the men's shirts being finished with high tight neck-bands which give them a clean, smart appearance.

Sometimes I have seen, though rarely, the shirt and trousers, and even the *chamma*, worn in pink or blue or even yellow. This is a sign of mourning—white is otherwise the universal rule. [765]

Most Abyssinians wear a head-covering of sorts. In the case of the people this generally consists of a piece of white muslin twisted round or tied over the head; I have also, though rarely, seen them wearing straw hats of native manufacture, and, still more rarely, a sort of brown woollen cap with a tuft, not unlike a fez in shape. The better-class Abyssinian, of both sexes, sometimes affects a wide-brimmed soft grey or black felt hat of European manufacture.

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

291 The Abyssinian lady and gentleman are frequently to be seen with a black satin three-quarter mantle, ornamented by a little gold braid round the neck and generally a coloured silk lining. In the rainy season a black woollen-hooded cape or *burnous* is donned by all classes, women wearing the hood at the back, and men sporting theirs on their left shoulder. The *burnous* is also a sign of mourning, for which purpose people of every class wear it.

765 515 296 A further, and less pleasant, sign of mourning is for the bereaved one to refrain from washing his clothes; but I only observed this practice in connection with servants and persons of humble position. Ordinarily they are very keen on washing their white garments, and even on trek there was a great "clean-up" whenever we stayed in camp for an extra twenty-four hours. The day before our return into Addis was always the occasion for the most lavish use of soap and water, and the *safari* on arrival looked really quite smart, the men all having donned spotless white *chammas*, shirt, and trousers for the occasion, when, I am bound to say, they looked externally a good deal cleaner than our travel-stained garments allowed us to do.

293 A cartridge belt of various colours and designs, from the plain native leather to the gold and silk embroidered specimen, is more or less generally worn by the men, and its value is also often an indication to the position or means of the wearer. In its place women use a girdle of some sort, to which is attached their keys, ear-cleaners, head-scratchers, and small silver ornaments. Parasols of neatly plaited grass, intermixed with coloured cottons, are carried frequently by both sexes in all seasons. These are quite picturesque, and no doubt serve their

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

●291

A Typical Provincial Governor.

This Provincial Governor is wearing the National Dress known as the "Chamma."

[facing p. 78]

11:Levine Z-4.5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

291
874
516

FIG. 1.—*School of qenē (Wāshərā Māryām monastery, Goǰam)*

346

FIG. 2.—*Naṗāsti's church, Aǧäntchā, Mamt*

[P.14-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

FIG. 3.—*Fāsil's castle, Gondar*

FIG. 4.—*Two Manzē elders*

FIG. 5.—*Manz: the rafe of bānnā*

142
291
344
291
302
142
516
[R14-8]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

[MANZ]

29 / *The Legacy of Manz and Gondar*

The history and customs of Manz are more obviously related to its geography than is the case with Gondar. The encircling wall of mountains has been a source of isolation and protection, two factors of great moment in the history of the area. Peculiar eating and clothing habits have developed in response to a climate which, owing to the altitude of Manz and its position at the edge of an escarpment that leads down to a desert of the Rift Valley, is one of the coldest in Ethiopia. The temperature often approaches the freezing point, and in the colder months (October and November) standing in the sunshine at high noon is no defense against a shrill wind that pierces the bones.

Barley is the only crop that thrives in the highest parts of Manz, though wheat, beans, peas, and chick-peas grow in the slightly lower altitudes. But *tēff*, the grain preferred by Abyssinians for the preparation of their staple food—a kind of pancake known as *ǐnjarā*—cannot be cultivated at those heights, so the Manzē typically eats *ǐnjarā* made of barley.

Sheep are a major item in the Manz economy. The average farm has a herd of 100 to 150 sheep, which provide a heavy wool as well as the Manzē's favorite meat. This wool is used to make the *bānnā*, a warm blanket which is wrapped around the body and constitutes the standard dress of the Manzē. The *bānnā* distinguishes him from other Abyssinians, who wear a white cotton toga called *shammā*. Wealthier men wear the *barnos*, a tailored cape made of dark wool. Manzē wool is also used for the weaving of rugs which ornament the homes of the well-to-do.

No dyes are used in working their wool, so a crowd of Manzēs in natural-colored *bānnā* seen at a distance resembles a flock of their sheep. This is one of the touches contributing to the impressive aesthetic unity of the Manz landscape. The effect is also produced by the fact that the Manzē's house is built of stone, the same stone that is seen everywhere on the terrain; and its conical roof is made of thatch, which makes the roof look like the piles of grain in the fields. The churches are also built of stone with thatched conical roofs. Everything one sees in Manz bespeaks a harmony with the natural environment.

The cold climate of Manz is invigorating. It prevents food from spoiling quickly and discourages diseases which flourish in lower altitudes. The Manzē boasts that his climate keeps people healthy and gives them long lives, and indeed it is not uncommon to find men sprightly in their eighties and nineties. But only the hardy survive, for life there is as rugged as the land, and the people—like their landscape—are stony, bleak, and full of dark recesses.

Manz does not occupy so conspicuous a place in Ethiopian history as Gondar. Indeed, most books on Ethiopia do not even mention the area. While

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

133

FIG. 6.—*The Amhara countryside*

342
361

FIG. 7.—*An Amhara homestead, Mantya*

342
291

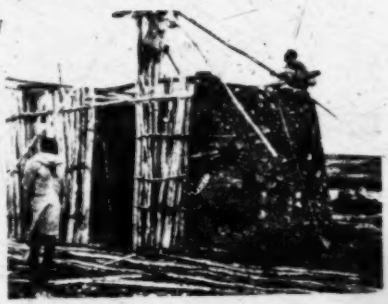


FIG. 8.—*Building a house*

[D-46-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

133
443
231
291

Fig. 9.—*The weekly market*

443
804
142
291
302

[P.46-B]

Fig. 10.—*The market weighing cotton*

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

the morning and what remains to be done. The peasant may retire for a nap, and perhaps to lie with his wife, before taking up the afternoon's work. He returns for about three more hours of plowing after his noon rest. The afternoon sun burns down on him; the plow is harder to wield; he plods on. At home the women continue their work, no sooner finishing one task than they attend to another. The mother puts the child who rides on her back to the breast whenever it cries.

The shepherds do not come home for lunch. They have taken some *ǐnjarā* or *dābo* ("whole wheat bread") along with them. In harvest months they enjoy a special treat, roasting grains or pulse which they have snatched from somebody's field. Though their responsibility is great—a boy will be whipped if an animal in his charge gets hurt or lost or if it gets into fields of grain—their work is light. They spend the day running idly, practicing war chants, playing at various adult activities. Their mood is as free as the great spaces about them. As the day grows hotter they are likely to discard their sheepskin covering and move about naked. Toward dusk, the shepherds' spirits quicken. Their songs become more excited; lively melodies are heard from their wooden flutes. It is time to go home to family, supper, and fire.

When father and sons enter after the day's work, they start munching on roasted grains, *ǐnjarā*, or *dābo*. They may drink some *ṭallā* and relax. It begins to get chilly. The room is dark and smoky, the fleas bite them—but it is the easiest time of the day. The family is together, and everyone enjoys talking and hearing about the homely events of the day. A few hours after dark, supper is served. Parents and older children eat together out of a common basket. Younger children and servants stand respectfully, awaiting their turn, grateful if someone places a large bite of food in their mouths.

After dinner there is a great washing of feet—the father's by his wife or children, the others' by themselves. The peasant recites or reads his evening prayers and lies down on his bed made of strips of cowhide. The children settle for the night on the clay benches. Last of all, the mother covers the embers with ashes, sets out the grain she must grind before dawn, and places her weary body next to that of her husband's.

This grueling schedule is not repeated every day. On nearly half the days in each month heavy labor is not permitted—men may not plow or harvest, women may not grind or spin. These are holy days: Saturdays and Sundays (both of which are honored as the Sabbath in Abyssinia) and the monthly and annual commemorations of the saints.

The woman's schedule on such days is only lightened, not radically altered. Food and drink must still be prepared and served. Except for a possible trip to church with her husband Sunday morning before breakfast, a woman's hours are still confined to the home compound and its obligations. The shepherds must still take care of their herds, though some boys may get together for

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

443
291
302
415

FIG. 11.—*The market: buying honey*

443
291
142
415
302

FIG. 12.—*The market: inspecting pottery*

443
291

FIG. 13.—*The market: selling salt bars*

[P.78-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

133
233

FIG. 14.—*A group of shepherds*

241
291
333
492

FIG. 15.—*Threshing time*

[P.78-B]

133
996

Fig. 18. The procession on Timqat Day

142
291
302
534
996

Fig. 19. Timqat procession detail

[P. 110-A]

TJ:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MPS Amhara MPS

291
492
415

FIG. 18.—*Ten-year-old boy ploughing*

291
492
415

FIG. 19.—*Mother and daughter carrying water pots*

[P. 110-B]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

ically established cycle) is the only way to catch malaria. We Ethiopians know better. We know that one can *also* catch malaria from drinking the water in places where the Anopheles breed."[25]

The ambivalence toward Western science represented by this statement and by the persistence of analogous attitudes among many educated Ethiopians undoubtedly brings the individuals in question a degree of security that would be lost were they to abandon the traditional, unscientific belief system *in toto*. Perhaps a more solid sort of security could be derived from a program of education which not only imparts scientific information and attitudes, but also educates people to adapt themselves to the changes which the introduction of science involves.

Taste.—In matters of taste, Ethiopia's modern adolescents range from extreme traditionalism to extreme Westernism, with most of them preferring both traditional and European or American patterns in varying proportions. Of food the students tend to prefer the traditional varieties, most popular of which are *doro wat* and *ǐnjarā*. Among Western foods they are fondest of pastries and Italian *pasta*. On the other hand, they are more inclined toward Western beverages than Ethiopian ones. The most popular Western beverages are, for the secondary students, soft drinks, and for the college students, beer; among Ethiopian drinks they prefer *tallā* first and milk second.

With regard to their manner of eating, the students' taste is traditional in that most prefer to eat nowhere but within the home, and to eat with their hands rather than use silverware; but it is Westernized in that most prefer eating at their own individual places rather than all together with others out of a common *ǐnjarā* basket. Opinion is most divided on the matter of exchanging *gurshā*, a morsel of food which one places in another's mouth. The slight majority who reject this old custom do so because they find it "noisy," "childish," "unsanitary," or simply "out of fashion"; while those who still enjoy it do so chiefly because it "expresses affection."

On questions of dress it should be noted that traditionally the Amhara have sentimentalized their going barefoot as well as their national costume. But because of the practical advantages of wearing tailored clothes at work and using shoes, and perhaps still more because of their high prestige in the modernizing sector, virtually all of the students prefer the European fashion in these matters. On the other hand, with respect to women's wear and the sort of dress to be worn on holidays, the great majority opt the Ethiopian *shammā*.

In their aesthetic interests the students' taste varies considerably according to the medium. With regard to poetry and music, Ethiopian forms are preferred to Western ones, while Western forms of painting and dance are more popular with them than Ethiopian. Poetry stands as the most appreciated of

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

871
342

FIG. 20.—*Traditional (church) school: student huts*

871
291
516
302

FIG. 21.—*Traditional school learning to read*

871
516
291

FIG. 22.—*Traditional school learning zema from maiter*

[P 142-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

527
291

FIG. 23—*Clergy and government school students observing national holiday*

893
291
217
352

FIG. 24—*Inside a secondary school library*

[P. 142-B]

11:Levine Z 4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

565
291
142

FIG. 25.—*Provincial nobleman and wife*

492
291
565

FIG. 26.—*"Big men" journeying with retainers*

[P.174-A]

11:Levine Z-4.5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

142
516
794
534

[P.174-8]

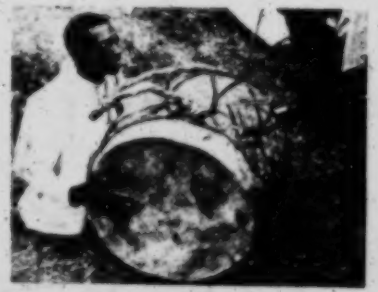


FIG. 27.—*A deacon*

793
291
534

FIG. 28.—*Group of* dabtarà

793
291
293
142

FIG. 29.—*An old priest*

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

142
302
291
516
792

FIG. 30.—*A widower who has become a monk*

142
291
793
302

FIG. 31.—*A group of clergy*

[P. 206-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

643
142
291
302

FIG. 32.—*Haile Selassie as a boy with his father, Rās Makonnen*

643
142
291
302

FIG. 33.—*The Emperor attending a ceremony at the University College*

[P 206-B]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

291
142

Fig. 34.—*Offering a* gurshà

291
261
264

Fig. 35.—*Singing out the master's* qenè

142
291
691

Fig. 36.—*Amhara litigants* [P. 238-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

cal animosities which have weakened the nobility as a status group both in relation to the emperor and in relation to foreign countries. Another respect in which Amhara parochialism has been expressed is the addiction to regional stereotypes, according to which the Tigrean has been depicted as flighty, irresponsible, and "dry"; the Gondarē as intolerably proud; the Gojjami as sly and treacherous; and the Shoan as calculating and untrustworthy. Despite its long history as a nation, Ethiopia probably never experienced more than the dimmest stirrings of a truly national sentiment among its people; and more than once in the past century have regional lords strengthened the hand of European powers in Ethiopia by seeking their help in the combat against other local rulers.

121* 181 186 619 829

Self and Others

In addition to considering the extent to which the members of a society identify with the needs and symbols of their more inclusive collectivities, one may also define the individualistic disposition on the dimension of personal interaction. Egoism contrasts, in other words, not only with the disposition to perceive collective purposes as one's own, but also with the disposition to seek solidarity and mutuality in face-to-face relations.

121* 156 571

This aspect of egoism/solidarism is studied by surveying the more important forms of interaction that appear in a given society. In the survey of elementary social behavior among the Amhara now to be reported, two criteria were used to establish the importance of any given form: (1) the frequency with which it was observed, and (2) the extent to which it was stylized or "institutionalized." These criteria were not embodied in any systematic observational procedures; the only control over the observer's bias here is my own deliberate effort to present a balanced and accurate picture.

We may begin by considering the more solidaristic forms. Interaction among the Amhara is characterized, first of all, by a sort of *sensuous camaraderie*. The Amhara enjoy bodily contact. Members of the same sex customarily hold one another's hands for long periods while conversing, or embrace one another in casual fellowship. Crowds of commoners cheerfully huddle close to one another on the floor through the night when they have assembled for some social function and cannot return home the same day. Relatives and companions of the same sex incline to sleep in one another's arms, at least in the chillier altitudes.

121* 571 826 181

Both their style of dress and their manner of eating give the Amhara a ready way to express this comradely feeling. Their untailored cotton or wool cloth easily adapts itself to being shared. Except perhaps for individuals of high social status, the typical Amhara is ready to use his toga as a blanket-wrap for both himself and another whom he may scarcely know.

121* 571 181 291

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

*793 869 875 criteria. His personal interest means to the student rapid advancement through the curriculum, dining at the master's table, and enjoying privileged information of a non-ecclesiastical nature. Without his patronship, a student is committed to years of uncertainty and physical misery, scraping to meet his subsistence needs, paying his "tuition" in demeaning services, such as gathering the master's wood and tilling his garden, and in deferential performances, particularly washing the master's feet and those of his visitors.

*793 869 The kiyne student is further troubled by the many ailments which are his lot. He lives, with one or two [342] of his mates, in a wretched lean-to of twigs and wild grasses, which proves to be poor protection against the [291] [515] cold winter rains. Often he owns only the toga on his back, and it, like him, remains unwashed for the dura- [164] tion of the long dry season. Thus, ikek (scrofula) becomes his badge, and kurtimat (joint pains) and weba [262] (fever) his recurrent companions. The student's diet *[172] is his special concern, since it conspicuously lacks the combination of wholesome wot (stew) and injera (pancake- [735] like bread) necessary to sustain good health. He ob- [164] tains most of his food by begging in the town and local hamlets, where he generally receives scraps of stale injera bread, always inadequate and potentially pathogenic (i.e., likift bearing, threatening fever and